



OUR WORK
HAS BEGUN;
THE FUTURE
IS COMING

*anarchist responses to
trump's election*

and essentially Nazis. “Skyrim for the Nords!” they shout, as they seek a white ethnostate. Funny thing is... they’re colonists themselves. The empire and the rebels alike are at war with the Forsworn, the original people of Skyrim. The Forsworn are demon-worshipping savages relying on political terrorism who are secretly controlled by a wealthy elite, but my criticism of that dynamic is a rant for another time...

Anyway, the game tells you that you have to choose between the Empire and the Stormcloaks. Neoliberalism or white colonialist ethnostate.

Fuck you, Stormcloaks, for somehow finding a way to make a fucking *empire* that *bans religions* and *celebrates the rich* and *kills indigenous peoples* look good in comparison.

Those are your choices. Empire or Nazis.

Wait, or are they?

It’s an open world game. You can do whatever you want.

In case I’ve mired my already obnoxiously obvious metaphor, what I’m saying is: we live in an open world game. We can do whatever we want. We don’t have to give in to the scripted dynamic we’ve been presented with.

Mostly, what I want to do is pick flowers and make healing potions, but I suppose instead I’ll see if I can ride a dragon into battle against all these fascist scum.

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Everything I Need to Know About Trump
I Learned From Playing *Skyrim*

Gutter Punk Josh

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EVERYTHING I NEED TO KNOW ABOUT TRUMP I LEARNED FROM PLAYING SKYRIM

Gutter Punk Josh

IF YOU'RE ANYTHING LIKE ME, THIS IS WHAT HAPPENS WHEN YOU first load up the game *Skyrim*.

You're a prisoner on board a cart. Everything is dark. Why is everything dark. Is it everything supposed to be dark? Does your character have a blindfold on, or is there a problem with your pirated copy of the game?

Oh, it's the latter.

Re-install, try again.

You're a prisoner on board a cart. The Empire is planning to execute you for being in the wrong place at the wrong time (and for illegally crossing a border). Fuck the empire. Your name isn't on their list of prisoners to be executed, but what the hell, they already have you, might as well cut off your head. Fuck the empire.

We live in an open world game. We can do whatever we want. We don't have to give in to the scripted dynamic we've been presented with.

A dragon comes and saves you by destroying an entire city. You escape.

There are rebels, fighting the good fight against the empire! You can choose between the rebels and the empire. My god, that's the easiest choice ever presented to anyone ever. Rebel it is.

Wait, why are they called Stormcloaks? That's a sketchy name.

Oh, they're called the Stormcloaks because they're racial purists

to continue to expose the systemic brutality against those racially targeted by the police.

While the Trumpists spew their fevered conspiracy theories we will double down on reality. Yes, we will get bashed, we will lose some fights, but there is too much at stake to stay on the sidelines waiting “for next time.” There is no cavalry coming, no courts, no congressional gridlock, no petitions, no media; now it is clear the only recourse is action from the ground up. This is the time when we must ask ourselves: do we really stand with those being bullied even when to do so may cost us our own safety? Is it worth it to stand side by side with the targeted, the scared, and the disheartened, knowing there will be risks? This time we cannot delude ourselves—thanks to Trump these risks are greater but so also are the rewards. We can cower in the corner, or we can stand up and make new comrades with whom we will grow our resistance. We must become ungovernable to the occupation and unwavering in our support of those that feel targeted. This is how resistance is born and how it achieves victory.

The liberals promised to protect everyone with nothing but a ballot, and now they have been routed and are publicly conceding on all fronts. They are asking us to passively accept whatever injustices Trump has planned for us, for our neighbors, for our friends, for our co-workers, and for those comrades we have not yet met. We have never believed in hiding who we are or being ashamed of our liberatory aspirations. We know the power of solidarity. We have relied on it for generations and we know it is a stronger, more honest way to protect ourselves and ensure our future. The time has come to stand up for ourselves and what we fight for, to defend the communities that the liberals have abandoned to fend for themselves while cynically asking them to return to the fold in four years’ time. Four years is too long to hide in fear or to look the other way. Let us not be afraid, let us not offer concessions, for we know our work has begun and the future is coming.

“I wish it need not have happened in my time,” said Frodo.

“So do I,” said Gandalf, “and so do all who live to see such times. But that is not for them to decide. All we have to decide is what to do with the time that is given us.”

—JRR Tolkien

INTRODUCTION

IN THE WEEK THAT FOLLOWED TRUMP'S ELECTION TO THE presidency, I fell ill: I couldn't sleep at night, I had pulsing headaches, I missed class. Debilitating depression set in. It took me awhile to get back on my feet, to resume my work writing and resisting. As an anarchist, and as someone who knows that the United States and the world have been full of injustice and oppression long before Trump stepped onto the political stage, my reaction felt sort of ridiculous. Why was I surprised that he had won? Would the country be all that better under Clinton's leadership, and will it really change that much?

For a lot of people, things are already bad. I live along the US-Mexico border. There's already a wall here, hundreds of people die trying to cross the desert each year, and Obama has deported millions of undocumented immigrants. Elsewhere, Black Lives Matter is struggling against police brutality, and residents of Standing Rock and their allies are fighting the Dakota Access Pipeline. Many of us are already enmeshed in struggle and are attenuated to the ways that capitalism and the State oppress and silence communities. Still, Trump's demagoguery; his dismissal and derision of women, queer, people of color, and people with disabilities; and his emboldening of a white supremacist Right may make things a whole lot worse.

In my despondency, sadness, and confusion, I wanted to know what others thought, so Margaret Killjoy and I put a call out for this zine. We got a handful of interesting pieces, and selected these ten to include. What's on offer here is a small collection of voices responding, in different ways and with different opinions, to the election. There's political strategy in these pages, like Alexander Reid Ross's "Trump's First Hundred Days and the Fascist Agenda," Laurence Davis's "Only a bold and popular left radicalism can stop Trumpism and the rise of fascism," Margaret Killjoy's "Actions Speak

have seen this play out recently in places like Spain, Greece, the UK, and countless other countries. It is always the same paradigm: the political structure refuses to truly change and will continue an endless cycle of lurching back and forth between liberal and conservative. This brutal and blind impulse towards self-preservation is not only found in rightist regimes. Both right and left-wing regimes have used the implements of totalitarianism—prisons, secret police, fear, war, and economic oppression—to maintain the status quo. To have a future, we must reject all the State's apparatuses of oppression, and this includes electoral politics with its self-serving divisiveness and false promises of change and hope.

The third myth is that the government has ever been our government. The government is the tool of the State, it is an occupying force now, just as much as it was before. All occupying forces of the twentieth century pair an outward benevolence with a healthy dose of fear and repression. We have always understood this formula, and have been struggling against it. Trump's victory, nevertheless, heightens the sense of urgency to pull down the mask of benevolence, and we must not squander it. The government has never been our protector, and now those caught up in the trap of "representative democracy" may finally see this as well.

Without these myths, what ways are open to us in the dark days to come? The situation has changed and will continue to change during the next four long years. It won't be easy, in large part because currently the Left is small and lacks the maturity needed to mitigate many of the on-coming attacks on the future. Attacks on women, LGBTQ, POC, immigrants, political dissidents, and so many others, have been par for the course for too long, and the coming years will be no different. Trump's victory has only increased the number of bullies and people who are fearful. We need to pluck up our courage, ready or not, and do what we can to stand up to the bullies. We need not only audacity, but imagination. Our theater of action must move beyond the co-optable symbolic opposition to the lived reality of everyday struggles against oppression. Our actions need to be bold like the Greek anarchists who squatted a hotel to house refugees or the German Leftists who physically shut down and re-purposed a neo-fascist radio station. We need to take up space in Trump's America and support others to speak, move, and love in their own neighborhoods without fear. We need

distressing is that this desperate rhetoric has captured the imagination of many who have suffered real humiliation and pain under the neo-liberalism of the one-percent. The tragedy is that the rejection and failure of neo-liberalism has led those “left behind” to eagerly cast their lot with the equally oppressive and failed ideology of paleo-conservatism, with its xenophobia, isolationism and anti-intellectualism. This has created a desperate new political alignment that rejects the very things that can restore its adherents’ respect and livelihood. From this vantage point, American electoral politics has been nothing more than a zombie horde of defunct worldviews along with oppressive and dangerous ideologies lurching across the blue and red states. No president can overturn the demographic reality that this country will continue to urbanize, will become more and more diverse, and that the mythologized manufacturing jobs of the past will remain dead and buried. These realities are the true wheel of history—the dead will inexorably give way to the living, the past to the future—and no election can change that.

The second shattered myth is that electoral politics is a valid arena for populist leftist change. Whether it is Syriza or Trump, Podemos or Hillary, in the end the Left must confront the oppressive powers of the State and capitalism, none of which can possibly be subverted by superficial electoral games. This is not to say there would be no difference between a Trump administration and a Bernie administration, rather it is to say that the latter would only serve to stall the inevitable confrontation. Electoral politics holds out the promise of slow-moving, incremental socio-political advancement, but real evolution only comes about with a radical change of environment, and this can only be achieved through social revolution. Revolution is not an event that suddenly happens, but something that is carefully prepared, built towards, and eventually implemented by those aligned with the future. All governments, whether they are liberal or conservative, will fight equally hard against threats to the State or the capitalist power structure. So if we are seeking a confrontation that promises a substantial and irreversible change in society, it doesn’t really matter if it is a liberal or a conservative regime in power. Liberal and conservative governments are both inherently reactionary and resistant to any kind of meaningful change, if only because their very existence is dependent on freezing the present and obscuring all possible futures. We

Louder Than Votes,” and Anarchist Resistance NYC’s “The Days After the Election and the Days Before the Revolution.” There are also more personal responses, including odessa aït jerrar’s “the good comrade check-in call, 11.11.16” and my poem, “They Didn’t Know We Were Seeds,” as well as the pithy-and-pointed “Everything I Need to Know About Trump I Learned from Playing Skyrim,” by Gutterpunk Josh. The back cover features a woodcut by Theo Alexander and the inside cover has a comic by Someone Else.

We hope this writing and artwork energizes and inspires you or is, at the very least, thought-provoking.

In Solidarity,
Wren Awry
Strangers in a Tangled Wilderness

THE GOOD COMRADE CHECK-IN CALL, 11.11.16

odessa aït jerrar

content warning: this piece mentions sexual violence.

...

i'm surprised that you're surprised.

wait, seriously?

...

wait, seriously? this *never* occurred to you in all your years of black carharfts and riot grrrls? didn't you, like, take intro to fem in college or something? i mean, hasn't every woman you've ever dated told you stories?

...

(laughing)

no, it's totally a real thing.

...

yeah, of course i've been grabbed by the pussy. it was in an elevator. i was 14. my cousin was 17. he was this completely unremarkable guy off the street. he grabbed at my breasts. i screamed this involuntary, ugly, guttural scream and awkwardly shoved him off. then his hand lunged at my cousin's crotch, and she had the same basic response. i mean, we

THE DAYS AFTER THE ELECTION AND THE DAYS BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

Anarchist Resistance NYC

TODAY, MANY RADICALS ARE ASKING THEMSELVES HOW THEY could be waking up to President Trump. Our question instead is what does this mean for the Left in this country. Paralyzing myths have now been shattered, and this situation could, with a lot of work, passion, and clear thinking, lead to a strategy of action and a far greater positive change than voting for the status quo. The change we are talking about is generational and will have a far greater effect than any string of elections, no matter how repugnant they may be.

First, this election has dispelled the myth, spread during Occupy, that the primary division in this country exists between the 99% and the 1%. Trump's victory proves that the conflict is deeper than what amounts to a very simplistic and inaccurate economic calculus: the 99 must surely win against the 1. Many of the so-called 99%ers came out in to support a billionaire, while the other half supported a pro-free trade, Wall Street democrat. Yes, there is absolutely a conflict between the rich and the poor, but that has never been the only division in this country. Those that see the Greatness of America as being misogynist, nativist, anti-urban, and homogeneous in race, sexuality and faith are fighting a rear-guard battle against the future which they can not hope to win. This doesn't mean that they will go away quietly and without inflicting great harm, but that is the nature of dying ideologies. What is

radical right, it is this *trajectory* that truly matters, which is why his policies and the white nationalism that he encourages must be directly confronted and opposed. People of conscience with any faith in liberty and justice must openly resist the decline into racist hatred and violence, effectively halting the momentum of the Trump wave by making our cities and towns safe for all people.

Alexander Reid Ross is a lecturer at Portland State University. His latest book, Against the Fascist Creep (AK Press), is forthcoming.

were teenagers encased in steel with nothing but little illuminated number buttons to save us. he got out on the next floor with his shoulders strong, head high, all calm and dignified while we **violently** jabbed at the 'door close' button until the door was *all the way* closed, and then we fell out on the ground floor gasping, eyes watery, running while claspings and crushing each other's hands. it was weird, but then again, the whole thing actually only took up less than a minute of my life.

...

i dunno. it's not really a thing anyone needed to hear, i guess. it was gross but it's not actually a big deal. like, it doesn't affect who i am on a day to day basis or anything. it was literally a few seconds of my life.

...

yeah, it was scary in the moment, but it's honestly not that big of a deal. it's been processed.

*fuck, i really haven't thought about this in *years*. and the stuff that actually gets me was so much more insidious.*

...

seriously, dude. it's really ok. you don't need to console me. it was a really long time ago. it was a stranger. it happens to all of us.

...

no, honestly, it's actually not that big of a deal. it really actually does happen to all of us. there's **a lot** worse shit going on out there.

*god, do i have to spell out the details of the *actual* stuff—like the childhood stuff--to make him get how much this random stranger didn't affect me?*

oh god, and fuck! gross! i had completely forgotten about that other guy at the beach who called us over to his car to see his giant pink slug in his hand right before the elevator thing. that whole night was just so vile.

...and how we ran into the elevator guy on the street later, and we screamed and ran as hard as we could into the back alley door of that restaurant kitchen and begged them to let us call our parents and they forced us out, as if we were dogs begging for meat.

fuck. that. night.

fuck being teenagers without a car.

...

yeah, i know. it does suck. but we all deal with it and we all know we're all dealing with it, so at least there's that.

...

i don't know. it's like, no one can gaslight us because we were together. the restaurant guys told us that it didn't actually happen when we barged in, gasping and stammering. it was as if they heard us say that we'd just been chased by a tiger. they were so certain it was a hallucination, or a prank, or an outright lie, so we just didn't tell anyone else at all. i guess now my cousin and i just know that it's this awkward shared memory that we don't mention but we both know we both know.

*ugh. like the way he threatened to tell everyone on that multi-family camping trip if i didn't do some shit in the dark. i can't even remember what he wanted that night but i remember the way the asphalt felt bumpy under my flip flops and the blinding white campground lights... things we both know we both know...shared memories...that shit went on for *years* with no one ever noticing.... and then when i told my mom, twenty-five years later, and she was like, "oh. he always was a weird guy...huh...should we get the sangria or regular wine, you guys?"*

...

honestly, i really am surprised that you're so surprised. we've been in radical @ circles since we were teenagers and you're turning 40. how is it that you don't take this stuff for granted yet?

fire their subordinates the ability to create a controlled, tradition atmosphere that rapidly shunters into obsolescence.

As the data shows, the cross-class mobilization of interests that Trump galvanized was not particularly impressive, falling behind Romney and McCain in votes gained. Just over a quarter of eligible US citizens voted for Trump. However, the radical rejection of the "DC establishment" pulled the Democrats under water, as Hillary's constituency bailed on her at the ballot box. The press's rejection of Bernie Sanders in favor of Clinton during the primaries rendered her most valuable media partners moot in those northern states still fuming over the suppression of their favorite blue-collar candidate. "We just saw massive shifts in the industrial midwest from '12 to '16, and those are the same voters," said David Wasserman of the Cook Political Report. Now that Democrats like Elizabeth Warren and AFL-CIO are singing the tune of reconciliation, the press seems subdued as Trump ushers futurist white nationalists and regressive Christian Reconstructionists into the White House.

The question of fascism that has lingered for so long amid this election becomes more important in the long run. More than one-third of Trump's supporters follow open white nationalists on Twitter, who are among the most outspoken advocates of Trump's policies; meanwhile, his past relations with Roy Cohn, Roger Stone, and other grey eminences point to a creeping fascism under the populist generalism. His team would involve other white nationalists like Kobach, assuring that the deportations would lead closer to a white ethnostate, the rejection of a woman's right to make decisions that immediately effect her own body and physical wellbeing would fall under patriarchal control, and this is to say nothing of what he will do to labor organizing—just remember what the AFL-CIO was saying a few months ago.

In August 25, 2015, I wrote an article called "Trump the Fascist," in which I stated that Trump's trajectory "lands quite clearly in the tradition of ultra-nationalism known as 'Americanism.'" With his palingenetic overtures to the rebirth of an old, dying America, Trump has certainly activated the mythical core of the fascist imaginary, which is being enacted throughout the US in the form of a spate of recent hate crimes that may carry on through the weekend. Although Trump's agenda is a mixed bag between what one can precisely describe as fascist or white nationalist and the populist

to the values of “the little people,” the middle class or petite-bourgeoisie. Trump’s further scapegoating of China as a “currency manipulator” will exacerbate the ongoing tensions in the South China Sea, and likely increase the militarization of Japan, while also increasing racist persecution of Asians in the US.

The aggression toward China is accompanied by the favoring of Putin, an alliance that would marginalize other global powers—not least of which being the European Union and perhaps even NATO—and challenge the US’s pretensions to unilateral global superiority. Instead, Trump would play into deeply-rooted fantasies of what Russian fascist Alexandr Dugin calls “a multipolar world” of apartheid-style ethnostates from Portugal to Berlin to Moscow and down to the Indian Ocean. It also exploits long-standing racist attitudes toward Asians in general in the United States, which are shared across the Atlantic in Europe by populist radical right Eurosceptic parties linked by Moscow’s support and a Duginist network that will surely feel a boost as the Trump wave’s demonstration effect washes ashore.

Trump has already begun reaching out to radical right populist parties in Europe—even before reaching out to their respective heads of state. The Islamophobic sentiment that Trump rode into power could easily give itself to a rising wave of anti-Semitism, as represented by the alt-right—particularly if the populist radical right sweeps away the left and center in the next round of elections. That Trump has indicated that he will continue the mass rallies while in office suggests the ominous potential for collective, mass violence and an ongoing personality cult.

THWARTING THE ETHNOSTATE

What carries over most of all in Trump’s populism is his determination to “drain the swamp” of Washington, DC. Imposing term limits on Congress and diminishing the federal payroll through attrition speak to longstanding populist complaints with federal corruption and over-spending. We can likely rule term limits out, since the Senate and House will both be controlled by politicians who enjoy term limits very much. However, the “draining of the swamp” can be tied to slashing progressive budget initiatives supported by Democrats, while the attrition of the federal workforce gives people with the ability to

is it because i wore stained cargo pants through my twenties? did you think only pretty femmes get pussy-grabbed? did you think my butch aesthetic and self defense classes protected me retroactively? is it because the statistics said one in three women is raped, so you figured 2 out of 3 were totally a-ok?

wait, are you one of those guys who would believe us if you heard more stories and statistics on npr or some obscure chomsky analysis? i mean, what would it take for our rad cis-dudes to actually get that it really is just something that’s always going on? ...that it’s been ambient since i was swaddled in a pink hospital blanket while my mother recovered from a c-section overhearing jokes about who my father might be? ...that it was ambient for our grandmothers? ...that it’s been ambient for all of us forever? how many of us need to retell and relive this shit so you fuckers can believe us and take for granted that it’s really actually ALL. OF US. ALL. THE. TIME.?

...

yep, i hear that. it sucks to realize you’ve known someone for this long and then realize this has been there all along and you didn’t see it.

...

yep, totally understand. i should go too. keep taking deep breaths and we’ll get beers soon, man. thanks for calling to check in.

...

yeah, i know. i still can’t even say his name yet, let alone imagine hearing his voice everywhere for the next four years. the best i’ve been able to do so far is refer to him as mr. t.

...

(laughing)

THEY DIDN'T KNOW WE WERE SEEDS

A POEM FOR THE BORDERLANDS.
IN THE AFTERMATH OF TRUMP'S
ELECTORAL VICTORY

Wren Awry

crushed pomegranates rot in the bike lane
on sixth avenue
the fruit of other lands:
spain, the colonizer,
but also mexico also maghreb also somalia
“extreme vetting” of women in colorful hijabs
picking out vegetables in frye’s food
mere miles north of that wall
“mexico will pay for”—to keep
the so-called “bad hombres” out.
on weekends i sit at a fold-out table in mexico
with these men trump calls
“bad hombres,”
help them make phone calls,
hear stories of deportations,
detentions, fleeing from violence
laugh with them as they try
to teach me better spanish
teasing my accent, my word choice,
writing vocabulary lists
on sheets of scrap paper—
i am not the learned one here
we are not the learned ones, white america—

he will deport as many “immediately.” His campaign used the number 11 million, which comes right out of the white nationalist movement.

From there, he plans to reform “visa rules to enhance penalties for overstaying and to ensure open jobs are offered to American workers first.” The opening part about enhanced penalties would obviously mean a life preserver for the prison industry, which faces challenges from abolitionists, the decriminalization of marijuana, the recognition of its social failures, and an institutional rejection of private prisons. Undocumented people caught re-entering the US will face a stiff prison term, entering a spiral of criminality that broadens as attempts build up. Furthermore, Muslims will be subjected to “extreme vetting,” a chilling phrase for all its lack of specificity.

The “Americans First” line and its references to a pro-Nazi anti-interventionist group in the inter-war period should not be overlooked. To help implement his plan for controlling migration, Trump has brought the architect of SB 1070, Kris Kolbach, onto his transition team. A veteran of anti-immigration network set up by white nationalist John Tanton, Kolbach helped create SB 1070 with the help of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC). SB 1070 was then sponsored by the President of the Arizona State Senate, Russell Pearce, who once sent his supporters an article by the neo-Nazi group National Vanguard and endorsed neo-Nazi border militia leader JT Ready for public office.

By declaring that Mexico will pay for an incredibly expensive, large wall across the US-Mexico border, Trump provokes anger that he can use later as an excuse to deploy military or police operations across the border—perhaps something like an invasion. Although it would appear that an invasion would not be likely, this again would not be completely unprecedented, given the history of “Rough Riders” and the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine establishing intervention in Central and South America in the event of debt default, as well as more recent Drug War-related interventions into the politics of Central America—particularly, the invasion of Panama under Bush, Sr.

Given Trump’s trade agenda, such an open form of imperialism would act as a kind of foreign policy replacement for neoliberalism. His promise to reign in corporations by drawing factories back into the US and to lower the business tax for everyday Americans speak

Much of this direction hews to the Christian Reconstructionist philosophy that Mike Pence brings to the table. An incredibly powerful religious movement, Christian Reconstructionism asserts the divine mission of spreading Christianity over all corners of the world—and not just any Christianity. Theirs is an anti-GLBTQIA agenda that rejects women's rights in favor of white, patriarchal rule over property and independent from virtually all regulation. Without the support of this movement, Trump's own dissolute and atrocious behavior toward women and families would have ruled him out of the running.

It is this alliance, however, between neo-reaction and Christian Reconstructionism that marks arguably one of the weakest links in Trump's populist alignment, and renders it a complex, radical right formation as opposed to an outright, hardline fascist movement. This is not to say that Reconstructionism is not friendly to fascists, or downright white nationalist—for instance, Trump's domestic policy advisor for his transition team is a fellow at the anti-LGBTQ-TIA hate group Family Research Council, whose Reconstructionist president Tony Perkins paid neo-Nazi David Duke \$82,000 for a list of supporters to make robocalls on behalf of Woody Jenkins's failed senatorial bid, and, about a decade later in 2002, provided the keynote speech for a white nationalist Council of Conservative Citizens fundraiser. However, it is difficult to see what kind of macabre chimera this coalition will form between the gay futurist, Peter Thiel, and the anti-gay Reconstructionists.

STEPS TOWARD FASCIST STATES

Deepening the populist rhetoric that marks his climate policy, Trump declares that he will immediately deport millions of undocumented migrants from the US, although the number he provides for the first push is a fraction of the 11 million he has presented overall. If he deploys civilian militias to help engage in this work, he is still not too far from Bush, Jr., or even Obama, who deported more immigrants than any other president in US history. Neither of those two worked to suppress the powerful border militias in the late 2000s, some of which were rather openly fascist in ideological disposition. However, what stands out in the numbers is that, while Obama deported more than 2.5 million migrants between 2009 and 2016, Trump states that

telling me it's "hondura" and not "honduras"
every time i pronounce it
like a gringo.

in line at the dollar store
an old woman expresses
her delight at trump's victory.
when she leaves,
the cashier and i console each other.

in a public school classroom
students—many new to this country—
write poems about dreams:
skeletons, snakes, angels, soccer matches.
two girls teach me to say "i dream"
in arabic: أنا أحلم
'ana 'ahlam, i repeat,
they giggle as i stumble
over the syllables.

(i think, for a moment,
that i can safely rest on my privilege,
forget that my body, too, has been divided
into pussy
into womb)

on sixth avenue, just past speedway:
crushed pomegranates scattered in the bike lane,
their hulls sun-parched, their kernels cast
over the curbs, into nearby patches
of straw-yellow grass
reminding me of the mexican proverb:

THEY TRIED TO BURY US
THEY DIDN'T KNOW
WE WERE SEEDS

ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN VOTES

Margaret Killjoy

“It is our duty to fight for our freedom. It is our duty to win. We must love each other and support each other. We have nothing to lose but our chains.”

—Assata Shakur

Author's Note: I woke up the morning after the election with a sudden burst of energy and wrote this in a few hours, aimed at a broader audience than just anarchists. In the time since, I've become convinced of a few additional things. First, community and collective self-defense is our best shot: we must create societies that cannot be ruled by Trump's administration and that resist autonomous (non-governmental) bigotry and fascism. Second, 2017 is some serious “now or never” for revolution: in addition to everything else, we simply cannot wait four more years before we, as a society, make dramatic changes to minimize the effects of climate change.

I admit, I'm terrified.

We don't know what happens now. We don't know if all our much-acclaimed checks and balances will keep the status quo of the country (already a totalitarian nightmare of police check points, deportations, stop and frisk, and mass incarceration for many of its inhabitants) intact. We do know that this nation elected an “unelectable” racist demagogue who quotes Mussolini, brags about sexually assaulting women, and isn't even a very good businessman.

Interestingly, Trump claims to fix environmental infrastructure while insisting on defunding UN climate research and programs wrought from the global Conference of Parties (COP) process that has accumulated more than twenty years of arduous negotiations. This fantastical notion that the environment can be delinked from the climate and “fixed” without regulating industry forms a clever ideological fulcrum to convince people who want to balance the economy with ecology. However, without formulating any visionary economic policies, simply ceding the environment to the corporations takes the US back to the so-called “Reagan revolution,” which fully embraced the reactionary gaggle of ranchers, loggers, and miners who fomented the “Sagebrush rebellion” of the late 70s and early 80s.

It is of consequence that the same far right elements have accrued around Trump's candidacy. The implications are that Trump's environmental agenda will reset the Republican agenda of “drill baby drill” and return to the early Reagan Administration's Department of the Interior under James Watt, noted for stating, “If the troubles from environmentalists cannot be solved in the jury box or at the ballot box, perhaps the cartridge box should be used.” In this way, like Reagan, Trump has fused futurist white nationalism with the atavistic illusion of traditional Americanism—ranchers on the old West, patriots, pioneersmen, and frontiersmen guided from the New York penthouse.

This kind of vast expansion of the extractive industries would only be possible through a sweeping transfer of public lands to private ownership—a demand that has just found its way to the Republican Party platform along with anti-GLBTQI language that GLAAD says makes it “the most hateful Republican Party platform in history.” Aside from giving the green light to the Keystone XL and Dakota Access Pipeline, Trump's Republican Party that now holds the majority in Congress and the Senate hope to oversee one of the largest land grabs in US history—the effective elimination of the national forest system, wilderness areas, national monuments, wildlife refuges, and national parks. Obama was not an environmental president by any means; in fact, 2015 topped records for oil production in the US. However, Trump will only deepen the movement toward resource extraction and the devastation of what makes this place on Earth great.

women is seen by “race realists” as one of the primary ways of ensuring “racial purity,” but under a Trump/Pence agenda this would take place implicitly.

Among the members of Trump’s team who will have a say in the structuring of social dynamics is Peter Thiel, the top financier of the so-called neo-reaction, which mixes the elitism of fascists like Julius Evola and conservatives like Robert Carlyle with a kind of futurist, techno-fetishism assembled around the notion of right wing transhumanism. Thiel has shelled out for neo-reactionary Curtis Yarvin, who insists on a “neo-cameral” governmental system that would set up a CEO of the US, as well as Michael Anissimov, who once twitter harassed a female journalist, saying, among other things, “I just want to cut someone’s face and see their blood running down it and their crying in the meanwhile, LOL.”

Twitter harassment has been a mainstay of the neo-reaction, including GamerGate and the Sad Puppies movement that accompanied the SciFi Hugo Awards. Other neo-reactionaries, whose sadistic, dystopian elitism is deeply intertwined with white nationalism, include the video blogger RamZPaul, who appears regularly at “race realist” conference American Renaissance. This link with Trump should come as no surprise, given his attachment to Breitbart, which serves as a mainstream haven for white nationalism and neo-reaction.

TRUMPISM: LINKING FUTURISM TO REGRESSION

Given this foundation in white nationalist futurism, there should be no surprise that Trump seeks to shred any small climate progress undertaken by previous administrations. Just as Trump once insisted he would turn the Republican Party into a workers’ party, workers are identified as the primary stakeholders in a new, aggressive economic drive to deregulate the energy industry. “I will lift the restrictions on the production of \$50 trillion dollars’ worth of job-producing American energy reserves, including shale, oil, natural gas and clean coal,” he insists, adding that he will “cancel billions in payments to U.N. climate change programs and use the money to fix America’s water and environmental infrastructure.”

We also know that the Republicans control the house and senate. This isn’t unprecedented: George Bush, Jr. came into office with a republican majority congress as well. Which didn’t go so well for anyone, at home or abroad, though most of us survived it.

But, at least in rhetoric, Trump makes George Bush, Jr. look like a beacon of tolerance and love.

There are a lot of things that might happen. The status quo might lurch along, drifting towards the right. An emboldened white nationalist populism is likely to strike out against Muslims, immigrants, gender minorities, and visible members of the Left. Trump might fulfill his campaign promise to turn America into exactly the kind of country 400,000 Americans died stopping Germany from being in World War II.

Any or all of those things might happen. But political struggle does not begin at the ballot box, and it certainly doesn’t end there.

WHAT DO WE DO NOW?

That’s up to each of us, as individuals, small groups, and communities, to decide together. We need to be brave (it only counts as bravery if you’re also afraid) and we need to be prepared to act.

Some possibilities to consider, which may or may not appeal to you ethically/politically:

- Only leave the country if you feel like you need to. If you feel like you need to, don’t let anyone shame you for making that decision. But don’t leave the country “in protest.” Stay, in protest.
- Connect with others who share your marginalization. Tell each other you have one another’s backs. Have each other’s backs.
- Talk to co-workers, neighbors, and others who are marginalized in ways that you aren’t. Tell them you have their backs. Have their backs.
- Remember who your enemies are and aren’t. Avoid pointing fingers at one another. Point your fingers at your actual enemies. Remember that only something like a quarter of voting-age Americans actually voted for Trump. Remember that even many Trump voters will balk if Trump enacts authoritarian rule.
- Have uncomfortable conversations with people who supported Trump who consider themselves to not be bigots. But don’t let

empathy blind you to actual ideological divisions, and don't be afraid to see people as enemies if they are in the process of doing harm and cannot be reasoned with.

- If you are a pacifist, keep your commitment to nonviolent resistance focused on resistance to the greater source of violence (the state, the police, and the populist Right) rather than those engaging in community self-defense. If you're a pacifist and you're not committed to active resistance, then you're doing pacifism wrong.
- Stop pretending like neoliberalism is a reasonable thing to advocate. Fight for what you actually believe in. (I believe in anarchism.)
- Fight rape culture. Stand up to its proponents in public and in private. Practice consent with one another. Organize with people to teach consent.
- Research the history of underground abortion access. Figure out how you would help provide abortion access in a country that denies it.
- If you make enough money to meet your basic needs, then financially support organizations to the best of your capacity. If you're someone with a high income potential, consider maximizing that income and funneling the money directly to anti-racist organizations, prisoner support projects, abortion providers, self-defense groups, and the like.
- Think about what your skills are. Think about what you're good at. Figure out how to apply those skills to protest, organization, and other tangible means of resistance. Don't be limited by what you see as your strengths. If you're a writer, do more than write. But write too.
- Organize against the populist Right. Research the various white nationalist movements in your area. Counter their propaganda. Counter their organizing. Counter their demonstrations. *Up In Arms* is a free, book-length report on how to counter the Patriot movement. Portland's Rose City Antifa offers resources for antifascist organizing.
- Make resistance to any rising fascism visible: organize demonstrations; pass out leaflets; hang posters in public places. Graffiti.
- Be prepared to put any privilege you have on the line. This means tangible things. If the government registers all the Muslims,

TRUMP'S FIRST HUNDRED DAYS AND THE FASCIST AGENDA

Alexander Reid Ross

FIRST, THE FUTURE

FASCISTS IN THE US TODAY CAN AGREE ON LITTLE MORE THAN the desire for a white ethnostate. Despite conjecture on Trump's deep interests and desires, few indicators suggest that he would effect such a drastic transformation as that. However, it is the question of process that matters most.

There is truth to journalist Arun Gupta's insistence that Trump's program would lead to ethnic cleansing, which is why fascists have taken such a shine to him and why the ACLU has declared that they will "see him in court." Trump has announced his plan to immediately deport as many as three million migrants from the US, and alt-right founder Richard Spencer, who has already associated Trump's platform with "peaceful ethnic cleansing," has called Trump's presidency a "first step" toward a white ethnostate.

If one reviews the plans that Trump hopes to implement on his first hundred days in office, the glaring omissions may be the most important. First among these is the rights of women to their bodies—both in terms of reproductive rights and protection from sexual assault and harassment in the workplace, on city streets, and in relationships.

What stands out here is the cultural factor—the process through which the behaviors and attitudes of the ruling elite send signals to the public regarding what is acceptable—as well as the political factors tacit within legal rights to abortion and to protection from harassment and assault in the workplace. Reproductive control over

It castigated the elitism and corruption of the system, emphasised its ineffectuality in the face of sinister threats to national well-being posed by Muslims and illegal immigrants and other easily scapegoated 'outsider' groups, and maintained that Trump and Trump alone could 'make America great again'. It succeeded by peddling false solutions and scapegoats for real social problems generated by the governance of interconnected political and economic elites.

By contrast, a bold and inclusive left populist radicalism would expose the real roots of festering social problems by speaking plainly and directly to ordinary people's needs, without pandering to their worst prejudices and fears. It would offer a generous vision of a better world, and a sweeping programme for revolutionary social change that can be translated into everyday practice.

This will require a reconnection with revolutionary roots. Historically, revolutionary ideas and social movements have tended to emerge out of, and give ideological coherence to, popular democratic social forms. However, in our time once revolutionary ideologies and movements like socialism and anarchism have grown increasingly detached from their radical democratic roots, leaving a political vacuum that right-wing populists and demagogues have been quick to fill.

Walter Benjamin's observation that every rise of fascism bears witness to a failed revolution speaks poignantly to our current condition. It may be interpreted not only as warning, but as a grimly realistic utopian hope that we still have a fleeting historical opportunity to act before it is too late.

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and you're not Muslim, consider registering as Muslim anyway. Interfere with street harassment of every sort. Do not be a bystander if the country slides further towards totalitarianism. Videotape the police. Refuse to comply with police orders and searches. Go to jail alongside people. Prevent people from being taken into custody if necessary.

- Connect with people who are already fighting against the existent nightmare. There is already a border wall. There are already armed militias policing our border. There are already deportations. There are people who have been organizing against this, and other atrocities perpetuated by the US government, for decades. Find those people. Learn from them. As humbly as you can, help them.
- Organize for community self-reliance in case things escalate. How would you take care of yourself and those around you if existent institutions no longer serve you (if they ever did)?
- Consider being ungovernable. If you say "Trump is not my president," then what does that mean? What will it look like to disobey?
- Develop contingency plans for various emergencies. How would you escape the country? How would you help others escape the country? Where would you hide people in your house?

Maybe, hopefully, thinking about this kind of thing will look like an overreaction. But if Trump is as bad as he claims, then it's better to be over-prepared than under.

ONLY A BOLD AND POPULAR LEFT RADICALISM CAN STOP TRUMPISM AND THE RISE OF FASCISM

Laurence Davis

TWO NEW WORLDS ARE NOW STRUGGLING TO BE BORN AMIDST THE crumbling ruins of liberal democracy.

The first is the waking nightmare now unfolding in the United States in the glare of the international media. A reality show with a cast of horrors, its politically successful mix of faux right-wing populism, kleptocracy and neo-fascism has inspired and emboldened autocrats everywhere and threatens in the absence of an effective counter-power to become our new global reality.

The second, a just, compassionate, ecologically sound and democratically self-managed post-capitalist world, may be detected in what Colin Ward once described as scattered 'seeds beneath the snow'. Deeply rooted in a rich soil of ideas and grounded utopian imagination nourished by countless counter-cultural critics of capitalism, industrialism and grow-or-die economics from William Morris, Peter Kropotkin and Elisée Reclus to Gandhi, Ivan Illich, Murray Bookchin and Ursula Le Guin – as well as a long history of popular movements from below working together to resist regimes of domination and develop progressive and sustainable alternatives to them – the tender shoots of another world are emerging all around us.

They are visible in a wide range of grassroots practices, movements, and practical utopias, from Buen Vivir in the Andes, Ubuntu in South Africa, Ecoswaraj in India, Zapatismo in Mexico, and the budding degrowth movement in Europe to solidarity economies, commoning activities, permaculture projects, re-localisation movements, community currencies, transition towns, co-operatives, eco-communities, worker occupied factories, indigenous people's assemblies, alternative media and arts, human-scale technologies, basic and maximum income experiments, debt audit movements, radical democratic movements such as Occupy and democratic confederalism in Rojava, and emerging anti-fascist fronts and coalitions uniting immigrant solidarity groups, anti-racists, feminists, queers, anarchists, libertarian socialists and many others.

The great danger we now face is that newly empowered forces of reaction will use that power to repress progressive alternatives before they are able to coalesce as an effective counter-power, sowing seeds of hatred and intolerance instead.

Many commentators of a liberal democratic or centre-left political persuasion have dismissed such warnings as scare-mongering, and suggested that the most effective antidote to 'populist politics' is a renewed commitment to social democracy and market globalisation with a 'human face'. Rather than seek to understand the complex mix of reasons why American citizens voted for a demagogue like Trump, they blame an undifferentiated 'populism' and advocate more elite democracy instead.

The breathtaking naivety of this commentary is perhaps matched in recent memory only by Francis Fukuyama's equally naïve and now risible prediction in 1989 of an 'end of history', i.e. an end to mankind's ideological evolution with the 'universalisation of western liberal democracy as the final form of human government'. Now more than ever, it is vital that we recognise and articulate careful ideological distinctions between competing right and left wing varieties of populism, and that those of us committed to values like equality, democracy and solidarity take urgent action to oppose Trumpism and the rise of fascism not with more of the same failed elite-led liberal democracy, but with a bold left radicalism rooted in an egalitarian and inclusive left populism.

The Trump campaign gave voice to the ugly authoritarian and reactionary face of popular opposition to the political establishment.